AZANIA COMBAT

No 1

Service Suffering & Sacrifice

1972

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Brutal suppression of all genuine opposition to apartheid by the police received public sanction from settler premier John Vorster, during the nation-wide students' demonstrations which shock South Africa last Autum. Vorster said he would have been disappointed if his police had acted differently and promised that violent attacks on demonstraters, like the savage one shown above, will be "done as often as necessary" (Natal Mercury, June 6, 1972). The demos were sparked off by the expulsion and police detention of Black students Protesting against racial discrimination in education in tribal colleges.

5p

Tributes

OSAGYEFO DR KWAME NKRUMAH

Osagyefo Dr Kwame Nkrumah, President of the Republic of Ghana and Joint President of the Republic of Guinea, passed from the face of earth before his great vision of an Africa united from Cape to Cairo, and from Malagasy to Morocco, had come into being. But that is not to say that it is not taking shape, as the enemies of Africa frequently claim.

Not only was the Summit Conference of African Heads of State in Rabat dominated for some time by glowing tributes to this Greatest of Africa's Sons in his time, when dealing with the grave problems facing independent African states which support armed struggle against the South African, Rhodesian and Portuguese fascists the OAU Heads of State recognised the urgent need for a counter-aggression joint military command. As long ago as the 1964 OAU Summit in Cairo President Nkrumah proposed the creation of an African High Command to support national liberation struggles in Southern Africa and elsewhere.

When President Nkrumah spoke of a united Africa, of the unity of Africans all over the world, he was articulating the sacred desire of the African masses to repair the damage done by colonialism and slavery. This struggle has suffered many setbacks but there is no denying the fact that the unity between Tanganyika and Zanzibar, where Pan Africanists scored a victory which gave Africa the United Republic of Tanzania, and gave birth to the socialist course of the Arusha Declaration, is the driving inspiration to Black people all over the world.

To pay Nkrumah a fitting tribute Africa and Africans must fight in unison for the total elimination of colonialism, old and new, from Africa and create two, three and more Tanzanias, until complete unity is attained.

An assasins cowardly bullet brought to an abrupt end the life of the first President of the People's Republic of Zanzibar and later First Vice President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Sheikh Abeid Karume. But there is no force on earth that can ever destroy the magnificent achievements President Karume attained for his people, both as leader of the Afro-Shirazi Party and head of Government in Tanzania-Zanzibar. He swept away the neo-slavery that flourished under the colonialists and the minority regime installed by Britain. He took away land from big landlords and redistributed it amongst the peasents who work it. He cleared away slums and introduced health facilities previously unknown to the common man in Zanzibar. President Karume will be remembered for these achievements and for leading the 1964 revolution that made them possible.

In this issue

COVER: Police brutality at students' demonstration in Azania

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Editorial

STOP THE PREVARICATION!

Since their successful conference in Rabat the Heads of State of the Organisation of African Unity have intensified their call on liberation movements from the same territory to form united fronts. So far two of the leading organisations in Angola, MPLA and GRAE, have, at least on paper, patched up their differences and promised to form a common front. It is hoped that soon UNITA's invitation to these two to join forces with it inside Angola will be accepted. Similarly in Zimbabwe it is hoped that FROLIZI, which was formed for the purpose of uniting militants from the older movements, will come to terms with the ZANU-ZAPU Joint Military Command and create an even stronger united front of fighting organisations. When UN Secretary General Waldheim was in Namibia fact finding, there was a single representation for all the genuinely antiapartheid organisations, including SWAPO and SWANU. The stumbling bloc in Azania remains the ANC. PAC's invitation to the ANC to join in talks on a united front is wellknown, and so is the support for PAC's position amongst the broad masses of the Azanian people. The OAU has correctly lost patience with the equivocations of ANC's present leaders. The urgency of our struggle against apartheid and Western imperialism in Azania now. more than ever before, makes it imparative for these men to demonstrate their independence from the anti-Unity agents of social imperialism. The leaders of the ANC must stop prevaricating on this all important question and show respect for the will of their own rank and file in the front lines

FREEDOM-FIGHTERS, WORKERS & STUDENTS SECRETLY DETAINED BY SECURITY POLICE

Pretoria.—Several African freedom fighters, workers and students are secreetly detained by South African security police all over the country.

The freedom fighters include Marcus Mokgotle and Sidney Mbuyazwe, two brothers who were handed over to the South African security police by Portuguese troops following battles between the Portuguese and guerillas from the Pan Africanist Congress four years ago.

In Johannesburg on June 5 the Rand Daily Mail reported that several dozens of PUTCO (Public Utility Transport Corporation) men staged a demonstration outside the City's main police station, the John Vorster Square, in solidarity with 308 of their colleagues arrested five days ago for going on strike (all striking by Africans is outlawed in South Africa).

Disappear
On June 14 a reporter of the same paper asked: "Where are the seven men said to be students of the University of the North, Turfloop, who were allegedly arrested at the University of the Witwatersrand during a protest last Friday?" The reporter made the public enquiry in his paper following information passed on to him by two white students from the Witwatersrand who had met two of the Black students when they themselves were detained by the police at the John Vorster Square, following the sensational demonstrations at their University (See story on Page 6).

Like Mokgotle and Mbuyazwe (even the United Nations has drawn blank from the South African authorities when seeking information about their whereabouts) the seven men from Turfloop disappeared mysteriously. A Johannesburg attorney, Mr Malcom Lyons, instructed to act on behalf of the two students the Wits men met, David Seleko and Joseph Mbatha, told the Mail reporter that the police said they had no knowledge of his clients' whereabouts.

Teargas victims

During the week-end of April 21-23 police in Lichtenburg arrested and detained without trial 130 pupils and teachers after they protested about educational standards at their school but reports on the incident and arrests did not reach nearby Johannesburg until June 17 (see Guardian, London, June 19, 1972). In related demonstrations at Setotolwane High School, Pietersburg, police used teargas to disperse protesters. Questioned about this extreme move Col B Rosseau, the Police Chief, said: "The use of teargas is in the normal way of duty ...

BRITISH RIGHT-WING PAPER & RAND DAILY MAIL COMPLAIN OF RIGHT-WING TERROR IN S.A.

Johannesburg.—The right-wing Sunday Telegraph, whose pro-South African views are wellknown, recently carried an article from their Cape Town correspondent complaining of South African settler prime minister John Vorster's deathly silence over right-wing terrorist attacks on religious leaders and other white South African opponents of apartheid.

Last June the Rand Daily Mail in Johannesburg, a leading critic of the racist regime amongst the country's English language newspapers, exclaimed, in an editorial (June 16, 1972), that: "We have reached a pretty sorry state when a Supreme Court judge is the victim of threatening telephone calls and has to be given a police guard because he granted an interdict against the police".

Hooliganism tolerated
What both 'papers find to be remarkable is the undisguised tolerance shown by Vorster and his racist government towards the hooliganism and thuggery suffered by the judge, Justice H.E.P. Watermeyer, and the long list of apartheid opponents who have received threatening calls, suffered "physical attacks, including kidnapping, arson, destruction of property and calculated terrorisation ..." (Telegraph, September 4, 1972).

The Daily Mail comments: "As we have noted before, the police have been strangely ineffective in tracking down the offenders". And the Telegraph adds: "Mr John Vorster, South Africa's prime minister, has often proclaimed pride in the effeciency of his country's police force and has paid when they 'mercilessly sought' and arrested saboteurs, lawbreakers and terrorists".

The British 'paper says it makes it the more odder that in ten years none of the perpetrators of these crimes has ever been brought to book.

Cops behind it all

Away from the constraints of legal persecution (the Editor and chief reporter of the Daily Mail, in the late '60s, were the subject of a marathon trial following an exposure of prison conditions in South Africa) reporters admit that the South African security police are the master-minds behind the sustained campaign of terror. Their latest victim is Rev house has been petrol bombed thrice, fired on with heavy ordered in his name delivered to his house.

Cape Town. Two foreign Africans in frogsuits are said to have made a midnight landing on the Ciskei (Eastern Cape Province) coast near Hamburg, South of East London, recently.

Police are said to be investigating the matter after strong rumours swept through the hamlet of Peddie, a few miles inland. The rumours promted Bill Deacon, MP for Albany, to raise the matter in Parliament.

He put a question "at short notice" to the Minister of Police, Mr Louwrens Muller, asking if the rumours were correct.

Mr Muller said he was not aware of the rumours.

Mr Deacon said yesterday that the rumours had been reported to him on Monday by the deputy Mayor of Peddie.

He said that the landing by two Africans in frogsuits was reported by an African man who had given them food but could not understand their language.

Police squads are said to have turned out immediately to investigate but no trace of the frogmen was found.

Rand Daily Mail (Johannesburg)
June 14 1972

Johannesburg. - Nearly 300 passengers made a hasty exit from a South African Airways Jumbo at Jan Smuts Airport yesterday after a bomb scare.

Shortly before the plane - on a flight from London - was due to touch down, a report that there was a bomb on board was received.

Police searched the aircraft, but no bomb was found.

Natal Mercury (Durban) June 6 1972

Umtata. Nine pupils of Cancele School near Mount Frere in the Transkei have been placed in detention by the security police on the suspicion that they committed arson at the school. Six classrooms, a library, a staffroom and storeroom were destroyed.

Star (Johannesburg) June 13, 172

News briefs (continued)

South Africa to be Africa's 1st nuclear power

Durban.-South Africa will become the first nuclear power on the African Continent in September, 1981, when the Koeberg Nuclear Station, near Cape Town, will be fully commissioned (from a report in the Natal Mercury, June 6, 1972).

South Africa's nuclear striking power will have been enhanced a dangerous step further; a rocket launching pad already exists north of here in Zululand, and at Thelandaba, near Pretoria, there is an American space tracking station which can be converted for aggressive purposes.

Bloemfontein.— The sentences of John Ramoshaba and four other Brothers were halved by the Appeal Court, here, recently, and the sixth man in the case of Brothers from Welkom charged with recruiting trainees for military training by the Pan Africanist Congress abroad, John Malfi Coetzee, had his sentence completely quashed, reports our own correspondent. All six had been sentenced to a total of 27 years hard labour, last December.

East London. A chartered plane left here with 27 tons of South African pineapples bound for London, early June, according to the Rand Daily Mail, June 1, 1972. The shipment was earmarked for "high class British fruit markets" and marked the inaugural flight of a fortnightly service for delivering Cayene choice pineapples to Britain. The importers in London explained that the inauguration of such a service did not mean that there would be any cuts in the massive cargoes of South African pineabpples that arrive there by sea each week.

Johannesburg. - Schalk Pienaar, political commentator of "Rapport", the Government financed Sunday 'paper, hopped on to the bandwagon of Afrikaner intellectuals who joined English speaking South African Whites in denouncing police brutality against students of the English language universities last June. Said Pienaar: "The thousands of protesting students throughout South Africa should not be written off as hippies, drug addicts and communists ... We cannot write off a whole generation. We have to take some blame and do something about it" (Rapport, June 11, 1972).

BRITAIN, WEST GERMANY & AUSTRIA IN NEW MULTI-MILLION DEALS WITH S.A. GOVT STEEL CORP

London.-The British Steel Corporation is considering a joint multi-million pound venture with the West Germans to build a new steelworks in South Africa (reports the Sunday Telegraph, August 27, 1972).

A team of Corporation experts recently visited the proposed site at Saldanha, 75 miles north of Cape Town.

Earlier this month (August) two German firms, August Thyssen and Aloeckner, both Companies known to have strong links with British Steel Corporation, had similar talks.

Meanwhile in Johannesburg on June 14 the Rand Daily Mail reported: ISCOR and Austria's largest steel producer, Voest, have reached agreement in principle to set up jointly a R300-million to R350-million "fourth Iscor" steel export project, to be sited on the proposed 800 km Sishen-Saldanha railway line. The Anglo-German project is worth £500m.

Iscor is a government run company which has the monopoly of the steel industry in South Africa. It employs hundreds of thousands of Africans at rock bettom wages and is protected, like all South African employers, by the country's rigid apartheid laws against industrial action by workers. Low wages and strike free labour are the main attraction for foreign investors in South Africa. It is significant that British Steel had just announced the scrapping of 10,000 jobs in Britain before the news of its intended move into South Africa broke, it lost over £71 million in 1971.

Italians also
The Sunday Telegraph also reported that the Italians are interested in the Anglo-German UN sanctions busting project.

The former South African minister of Economic Affairs who is now director of ISCOR, Jan Haak, told the Rand Daily Mail: "I do believe that it will stimulate the economy of the country and improve its balance of payments".

South African economy has been going through a thin time as evidenced by the humiliating 12.28 per cent devaluation last December and the present soaring inflation. Through these investments Western imperialism is once more stepping in to take the fascist regime off the hook.

These cold blooded stimulants for apartheid fascism are a challenge to all cvilised human beings.

PRACTISING WHAT THEY PREACH

There are many liberals and other whites in Azania who claim solidarity with the oppressed but are too often found contradicting their claims by their activities. Sometimes it is out of sheer force of habit but mostly it is for much more sinister objectives. However, from time to time there comes on to the scene a man or a woman who will practice what he or she preaches; a person whose actions will set him or her apart from the rest. A recent example is David Russel, an Anglican priest who has embarked on a lonely and little publicised crusade to expose the genocidical scheme of the South African apartheid authorities in the Bantustan "Resettlement Townships". Rev Russell was recently discovered by William Raynor of the London Guardian (August 29, 1972) who in part reported:

"I have become a tyre with a slow puncture - even now I feel weak, listless, and pulped". David Russel ... had lunched off a saucepanful of thick soup, but was already exhuasted and hungry. There was little he could do about it: he was not yet two thirds on the way through one of the longest and most uncomfortable protests ever undertaken against apartheid, and he knew that his hunger and exhaustion would have to go unappeased.

Until October 14, when his self-inflicted purgatory will be over, the soup, an unappetising has of samp and beans, will be one of his life-lines, a vital part of his diet. When that day comes he will have lived for five months on a monthly African pension of R5 (£2.50 British sterling), and for one month on State-supplied African "rations" worth R2.58.

He will also, in an attempt to get his message across to the authorities and the white electorate, six monthly "open" letters to Mr M.C. Botha, minister of Bantu Administration and Development, vividly describing the diet's effects on mind, body and soul.

His message is one of horror, and shame. As assistant priest at King William's Town in the Ciskel region of the Eastern Cape, his parish has for the past two-and-a-half-years included Dimbaz (formerly Maxesha) one of between 25 and 30 places scattered throughout the "black" areas of South Africa which the Government calls "Bantu Resettlement Townships", and which others, less grandiloquently, refer to as "dumping grounds".

Turn to Page 10

Practising what they preach (continued)

Their (resettlement victims) circumstances, measured against a white pension just raised to R41 a month, against a poverty datum line of R64.04 for an "average" African family of two adults and four children, and an effective minimum standard (which allows for occasional transport, occasional new clothes, and entertainment) of near R100, are pitiable enough. Over 3,000 of the adults - anyone, in official eyes, who is over 12 years old - in Dimbazana exist on rations, and 1,900 children exist on rations worth even less - R2.27. To add to their discomfiture, the heads of the 1,250-odd households, 65 per cent of them women, have to pay and average monthly rental of R2.50.

At the begining of last year he started campaigning in letters to Mr Botha and his deputy, Mr A J Raubenheimer, for maintenance grants to be paid to those of Dimbaza's widows and deserted women who were too young to qualify for a pension. Apart from fasting on the steps of St George's Cathedral in Cape Town that May (and getting threatening letters and telephone calls and all four tyres of his car slashed as a result - See Page 5), he avoided publicity.

From the begining his aim was to emphasise the contrasts between his own situation and that of the people in Dimbaza, rather than any "artificial" similarity. "It would", he told me, "be arrogant and intermperate for me to assume that our situations are at all comparable".

In his first open letter, he explained to Mr Botha that while he started off with sufficient clothes, furniture, utensils, those at Dimbaza did not. But the most important difference was not material, it was psychological. "I set out with an object, with purpose, with some hope, and above all with the knowledge that my journey is not only voluntary but temporary. If I was to become desperate, I know that I have friends who would immediately supply my need. For those at Dimbaza, their condition is a way of life, without purpose or hope of escape, with no assurance of help from others.

"My position", he wrote, "is as different from theirs as hope from hopelessness; so I am keenly aware that my knowledge of what their condition really feels like is very limited indeed". They were born into suppression and insecurity, he was born, as he puts it, with a "white teaspoon" in his mouth.

Practising what they preach (conclusion)

"I think I am begining to learn from within", he told Mr Botha in his second letter, "why the poor man turns so foolishly to drink, or buys sweets instead of Pronutro, and cool drinks instead of cabbage. May those pause and ponder who charge the poor of 'having no initiative' of 'laziness', and of 'not bothering to help themselves'. The enervating effects of this diet make me, too, feel lazy and not want to bother. It is you, Sir, and your colleagues, who do this to the poor of this land ... May God have mercy on you, Sir, maybe you know not what you do".

His third letter, as he admitted to Mr Botha, contained a new note of urgency and desperation. He cited the cases of two of the 30 people who had been to see him that morning. One was a pensioner who was being "harassed and threatened" for nonpayment of rent; the other was a young widow who, having received her maintenence grant and having not been told that her rations would be taken away, had bought paraffin for the month, and, "for the first time in years", a few new items of clothing for her children. Her rations withdrawn, she had no food, no money. She had been told by an official to get work, but when she had asked how her yound children were to be cared for, the official had apparently replied that they were not his concern.

"It is like serving a prison sentence - I held on grimly counting the days. My life revolves around my stomach! Human joy is shrivelling up; my capacity for giving out is shrinking".

EDITOR'S NOTE: In 1969 Helen Suzman, MP, said in the South African parliament condemning "thousands upon thousands of Africans in resettlement areas" to lead "hopeless and helpless lives of poverty and unemployment, is a violence". By the year 2000 Eight Million Africans will have been sent to certain death in this way, according to calculations based on Government statistics. We call this genocide. In a selfless way David Russell, and before him Cosmos Desmond, the house arrested author of the "Dumping Grounds", has used his colour - which is all important in South African politics - and position to highlight the plight of these Africans in the Bantustans. To win respect for their efforts those charged by our supporters with the task of administering aid which is intended to help freedom fighters halt the genocide by liberating Azania must be as non-sectarian as Russell and Desmond have been selfless in supporting our cause. Otherwise their liberalism remains as dirty a word as that of the old liberal school (see Robertson: "Liberalism in S.A. '48 to '63", Oxford) and defunct White Left in South Africa (see also Azania News 7/6 72).

New York.—The year 1972 will go down in history as an important high mark in the struggle of African people to break down centuries old barriers created by slavery, colonialism and imperialism and restore bonds of brotherhood between those back in the Fatherland and African descendants in North America and the Caribbean.

Over 50,000 Black people in this part of the world participated in rallies, marches, seminars and other demonstrations to celebrate AFRIKA DAY 1972 and proclaim the oneness of their own struggles against racial oppression and exploitation, in the United States and Canada, and against neo-colonialism; in the Caribbean, with the struggles for national liberation in Southern Africa and in other parts of the Continenent, and the struggles for freedom from economic domination by those African countries that have attained their independed.

An authentic spirit of African Unity permeated throughout and speakers at the rallies and other meetings denounced apartheid, colonialism and neo-colonialism in Africa and charged U.S. imperialism as Public Enemy Number One of all Africans and other people fighting for their freedom in Asia and Latin America.

At the peak of the demonstrations in Washington DC, the focal point of the demonstrations in the U.S., 25,000 Blacks marched through the Federal capital. Speakers in Washington included Charles Diggs (Democratic Congressman for Michigan); Black Panther Minister of Information Elaine Brown; and Brother Owusu, National Chairman of the organising committee for the Afrika Day celebrations.

In San Francisco Panther Chaiman Bobby Seale, Republic of New Africa Minister Yusufu Sonabayette, Mayor Richard Hatcher of Gary, Indiana, and David M. Sibeko, chief guest speaker from Africa and representative of the Pan Africanist Congress, addressed a crowd of 8,000 people.

Credit for the highly successful historic occasion goes largely to the hundreds of Brothers and Sisters from grass root and national organisations who spent mahy weeks and sleepless hours printing and distributing leaflets as well as doing other organisational work amongst the masses.

To give concrete expression to the declarations of solidarian African-Americans across the U.S. have started support committees dedicated to organising material assistance for African liberation movements.

THE AFRICAN WORLD (Continued)

Dar es Salaam. The Heads of States, or their representatives, from 15 independent African states recently met here and resolved to increase material assistance to guerilla movements fighting to remove white minority regimes in Southern Africa and Guine-Bissau.

Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere told the "good neighbours" summit that Africa needed no further convincing of the gravity of the oppressive situation in white minority controlled parts of the Continent and declared that "Now was a time for action, not words".

Tripoli.-Colonel Muammer El Gadhafi, Chairman of the Revolutionary Command Council of Libya, told the 19th Ordinary Session of the OAU Co-ordinating Committee in Benghazi that: "The Case of Namibia is almost eclipsing the main issue, that is the case of Azania, namely, South Africa. The racist regime there is taking advantage of the present situation so much so that it considers itself as a legitimate country which has the right of tutorship and negotiating with it, forgetting in all its illegitimate existence ... This is the main preoccupation of Africa though I thought that African duty was to liberate the whole southern part of the continent from the domination of the white invaders".

Cairo.—The GRAE—MPLA "united front" has been greeted with deadly silence by the revisionist camp and satellite support committees for the liberation of Angola in Western countries. The explanation seems to be the difficulty the social imperialists and the Basil Davidsons are having in swallowing back all the venom issued against GRAE in the pre-Front days. The genuine supporters of the Angolan liberation struggle are now looking forward to Brazzaville based MPLA and kinshasa based GRAE responding to the invitation from the President of UNITA, Dr Jonas Savimbi, for their three movements to join forces and fight the common enemy, Portugal.

Commenting on the silence of the revisionists and "support committees" an Angolan patriot said: "In Europe it is the will of the Europeans which prevails. Similarly in Africa it is the will of the Africans which will ultimately prevail. Those who dream otherwise are in for a surprise". RIGHT ON!

Rabat.-During the special seminar to celebrate the 12th Anniversary of Sharpeville at the UN Headquarters in New York, on March 21, the Pan Africanist Congress delegation proposed that the world body should create a committee to collect material assistance from progressive member nations and for channelling such aid to Azanian and other national liberation movements. In Tabat the Secretary General of the UN said such a proposal was now under consideration (Star, Johannesburg, June 14, 1972).

Book review

EXPOSING THE ROLE OF SOCIAL IMPERIALISM IN THE AFRICAN LIBERATION STRUGGLE

For anyone who is proscribed from visiting those parts of Africa that still fall under foreign white rule writing about African national liberation movements has many handicaps. Writers have to rely, in the main, on interviews with external representatives of the movements and on libraries abroad. However, Richard Gibson, an Afro-American journalist, makes a sterling effort in his recently published book, AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS (Contemporary struggles against white minority rule).

The book gives a rare insight into the manifold problems and obstacles that confront freedom fighters, at the same time it is a refreshing departure from the one-sided and excessively partenalistic works that have been produced by white liberals who choose to ignore the efforts of those movements of which they do not approve if not redicule them. It is certainly more authorative than the stuff churned out by profesional sympathisers after their imaginary excursions to hypothetical liberated zones.

Gibson exposes the import of cold-war politics into the African liberation struggle by social imperialism and illustrates how sham support is used to sabotage, through the agency of satellites of social imperialism within AAPSO (Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organisation) and the World Peace Council, unity amongst liberation movements. Often this sabotage is directed against policies of the Organisation of African Unity itself, in total disregard of the fact that it is OAU member states e.g. Zambia, Tanzania, the People's Republic of the Congo and Guinea, who shoulder the largest burden of supporting the freedom fighters and bear the brunt of South African, Rhodesian and Fortuguese fascist retaliation for giving sanctuary to movements from Azania, Namibia and Zimbabwe and those from Angola, Mozambique and Guine-Bissau.

Exposing the role of social imperialism is overdue because many dismiss its criticism by PAC, ZANU, COREMO and UNITA as simply an extension of the SINO-SOVIET polemics, and others are as naive about its role as people were about the true nature of U.S. imperialism before its barbarous escalation of the war of aggression in Vietnam and all Indo-China and support for Zionist aggression in the Middle East, and the occupation of Palestine.

The background information and research done in this book will prove useful for scholars on African politics as well as make fine reading on this subject which has the makings of a flash-point for a major world crisis in the near future.

- Ntombi Maziya

AFRICAN LIBERATION MOVEMENTS: Contemporary struggles against white
minority rule; published by Oxford University Press, London,
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Price: £3.50 net in the U.K.)